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BETWEEN WORLDS: THE BIOGRAPHY OF MADAME DE POMPADOUR'S BOUDOIR TURC

by

DANA LEE

Under the Direction of Maria Gindhart

ABSTRACT

Jeanne-Antoinette Poisson, known as the Marquise de Pompadour, was celebrated for her great patronage of the arts, including architecture. This biographical account of her Turkish *boudoir* at Bellevue examines its implications of personal and private life, class and gender, and the role of exoticism in eighteenth-century architectural interiors. Analysis of the boudoir and its contents reflect much about its unusual mistress and the unique period of the mid-eighteenth century, as all are likened to the metaphor of existing in a liminal space “between worlds.”

INDEX WORDS: Jeanne-Antoinette Poisson, Marquise de Pompadour, Chateau de Bellevue, Exoticism, Portraiture, Architectural interiors, Eighteenth century, Identity, France, Boudoir, Turquerie

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by

DANA LEE

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts

in the College of Arts and Sciences

Georgia State University

2013

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2013

BETWEEN WORLDS: THE BIOGRAPHY OF MADAME DE POMPADOUR'S BOUDOIR TURC

by

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College of Arts and Sciences

Georgia State University

May 2013

DEDICATION

To Mark for his eternal patience and support.

And to Josephine for being my light and inspiration.

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I would like to express my deepest gratitude to Professor Maria Gindhart in the Art History program at Georgia State University. Her guidance, belief in my ability to succeed, time, and consistent willingness to help have been invaluable to me; without her assistance, as both a professor and a friend, I would not have been able to realize this dream. I would also like to thank Dr. John Decker for making history so entertaining and helping me to develop critically, especially in my writing. Finally, I would also like to acknowledge the kind assistance of Dr. Denise Davidson for serving as a reader for this thesis.

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1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Purpose of Study

Every place has its own unique story. Countries, cities, buildings, and even the smallest of rooms were each born and brought to life, becoming breathing participants in history. Some places are the collective result of many minds and hands, and others owe their existence to an individual who infuses the space with personal touches, making it an extension of his or her identity. Such was the case in 1751 when King Louis XV of France presented the Château of Bellevue to his titled mistress, the Marquise de Pompadour. The small manor home that would know many residents instantly became linked to its most famous proprietor, who would place her personal stamp on every room.¹ Though each room of the château tells a different story about the Marquise, one room in particular stands out as a great example of the importance of eighteenth-century architectural interiors: the Turkish *boudoir*.

This thesis takes the form of a biography of Pompadour's Turkish *boudoir* at Bellevue. I use the term "biography" because I want to approach the room as if I am telling its story. Just as a biography of a person invites the reader to contemplate the multifaceted character of its subject, so, too, I would like to present this space as a living being with a complex story to tell. This approach has allowed me to analyze the room in a more creative way and reveals the per-

¹ Katie Scott, "Framing Ambition: The Interior Politics of Mme. De Pompadour," *Art History* 28, no. 2 (2005): 248-290.

sonal nature of the space in a manner that not only is relevant to today's scholarship, but also plays into eighteenth-century concepts of private space.²

In recent eighteenth-century scholarship, there is an increasing interest in domestic architectural interiors, particularly those functioning as portraits of their patrons.³ The interiors reveal much about their inhabitants' individual tastes, as well as provide glimpses into eighteenth-century concepts, such as identity. They also reflect shifts in gender and class, most notably the affluence and rise of the bourgeoisie – who placed an emphasis on comfort in their homes. Pompadour's Turkish *boudoir* is symptomatic of these new attitudes in interior décor, and it also displays innovation in its exotic theme. In fact, the *boudoir* represents one of the earliest uses of *la turquerie* (or Turkish fashions) as an overall theme for a room.⁴

My thesis addresses how the *boudoir* was a mirror of its time and how it is important as more than just a bedroom; it also represents a singular period when France was at a crossroads both within and outside its borders. Interior changes resulted from new ideas of the salon culture and bourgeois influences. On the exterior, France became the dominant world power, and the political map was redrawn to include the Ottoman Empire as a friend (though an uneasy one) rather than foe. The *boudoir* brings together all of these themes into one unique space. My goal will be to show how the *boudoir* is a reflection of its time and patron through the analysis of public and private life, gender, class, and the role of exoticism.

² Tony Spawforth, *Versailles: A Biography of a Palace* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2008). Spawforth's work is a recent example of a biography of a space. Through the stories of those who lived there, Spawforth makes the walls of the long abandoned palace come alive.

³ See especially *Architectural Space in Eighteenth Century Europe: Constructing Identities and Interiors*, ed. Denise Amy Baxter and Meredith Martin (Surrey, England and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010).

⁴ Perrin Stein, "Madame de Pompadour and the Harem Imagery at Bellevue," *Gazette des Beaux Arts* 78, (1994): 29-45.

Following biographical construction, my first chapter starts with the creation of the *boudoir* and how it fit into period concepts of public and private life. I begin with an overview of how the notion of “private life” was essentially an eighteenth-century invention. Before the reign of Louis XV, most people, especially the nobility, hardly knew what “private life” meant since they were surrounded by other people almost all of the time. That changed, however, once the absolutism of Louis XIV died with him in 1715 and the nobles began to create their own homes to their own specifications.⁵ This is the age when interior design was truly born and blossomed. It was this cultural shift that made the Turkish *boudoir* possible; in fact, the concept of a “*boudoir*” was a mid-eighteenth century invention as well – as a small, private bedroom, its function was more for personal pleasure than for the public rituals that had been such a part of the Sun King’s Versailles.⁶

I also include how these ideas of private life extended more personally to the Marquise de Pompadour herself, who suffered with fragile health and longed for a respite from her diplomatic duties at Versailles. Bellevue became that refuge, and she lavished each room with comfort, a new word in the French vocabulary.⁷ Pompadour’s relationship with the king and its evolution from a passionate affair to a close friendship is another essential part of this chapter. A further aspect of importance will be a section on masquerade, how Pompadour enjoyed theatricals, and current theories about how many eighteenth-century people, especially noble wom-

⁵ See especially Dror Wahrman, *The Making of the Modern Self* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004). Though concentrating primarily on England, French scholars of history and art refer to this groundbreaking work as well.

⁶ Michel Delon, *L’Invention du boudoir* (Paris: Zulma, 1999).

⁷ Joan de Jean, *Age of Comfort: When Paris Discovered Casual and the Modern Home Began* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2009).

en, often tried to carry over the public roles of the theater into their private fantasy worlds.⁸

These interrelated topics will help the reader to understand more fully the cultural context into which the *boudoir* was born and establish the close link between patron and space.

The second chapter flows into a discussion of the room as a mirror of changing class and gender roles. Once again, the identity of the patron is inextricably tied to that of the room. The *boudoir* allows us to see the tension between Pompadour's bourgeois beginnings and the aristocratic life into which she was forced to assimilate. Indeed, once she became the king's mistress, Pompadour could never truly be a part of either world; she had to be both and neither at the same time. The liminality of her status extended to her gender as well. At a time when Pompadour was at her political height and was the most powerful woman in France (or, arguably, in the world), she also chose to create a sensual *boudoir* in which she placed a portrait of herself as a Sultana of a harem; ironically, these identities coincide with the end of sexual relations between Pompadour and the king.⁹ Pompadour thus continues to play a "both and neither" game between the enlightened *femme savante* and the seductive siren. These are fascinating aspects of a liminal personality that express all of her complexity in a single room of her home. The *boudoir*, once again, becomes the manifestation of changing attitudes toward gender and class in France as a whole, as well as how these changes link the patron to the space.

The final chapter discusses the role of exoticism in the *boudoir*, especially the new interest in all things Turkish that eighteenth-century France embraced. I begin with a very brief overview of how the uneasy politics between France and the Ottoman Empire at the dawn of

⁸ Meredith Martin, *Dairy Queens: The Politics of Pastoral Architecture from Catherine de' Medici to Marie Antoinette* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2011).

⁹ Stein, "Madame de Pompadour," 39.

the century became much more relaxed by the 1750s.¹⁰ This truce between the two great empires coupled with a mutual admiration resulted in each culture wishing to emulate the other.¹¹ The *boudoir*, particularly the portrait of Pompadour as a Sultana, incorporated French concepts of a Turkish harem, which has great implications for the function of the room and its mistress, particularly in representations of “otherness.” This chapter explores the ironies of the “harem” Pompadour created and pulls together all of the three major themes of the thesis – private life, gender and class, and exoticism. This chapter is also last because if this is to be a biography, it is the exotic appeal of the furnishings for which the room is best-known today, and they represent the last gasp of the Rococo and the tastes of the *ancien régime*.

1.2 Literature Review

The Turkish *boudoir* at Bellevue is quite well-known to scholars of eighteenth-century architectural interiors and décor. Interestingly, however, it receives little more than a brief paragraph in most sources, which simply state that the room used exotic décor. The only substantive discussions of the room come from three sources.

The first is an article by Perrin Stein from 1994 in which she argues that Pompadour created the room and portrait of herself as a Sultana to solidify her position as the most important mistress of Louis XV’s “harem.”¹² This is the only lengthy piece of work that focuses primarily on the *boudoir*. My thesis, of course, recognizes the article and its contributions to understanding the room, but I take a deeper look into the room and the portrait. The room is much more

¹⁰ See Nebahat Avcioğlu, *Turquerie and the Politics of Representation, 1728-1876* (Surrey, England and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011); and Fatma Müge Göçek, *East Encounters West: France and the Ottoman Empire in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987).

¹¹ Göçek, *East Encounters West*, 24-61.

¹² Stein, “Madame de Pompadour,” 39.

complex than a single reading, and because patron intent is difficult to understand fully, I do not necessarily believe that we can say there is one definitive way to interpret this space. Though Stein's analysis is fascinating, reading the room in terms of how it reflects what we truly know about the period and Pompadour will result in a more convincing discussion of its importance.

The second source that gives a great deal of attention to the *boudoir* is Xavier Salman's *Madame de Pompadour et les arts* from 2002.¹³ This catalogue of Madame de Pompadour's contributions to the arts provides a clear description of the room, what it looked like, the kind of furnishings and décor that it included, and what eventually happened to those objects. Salman's purpose is not to interpret the room in any way; rather, he gives all of the information that one would need in order to put the space together.

The third resource that provides much information about the *boudoir* is Katie Scott's article, "Framing Ambitions: The Interior Politics of Madame de Pompadour" from 2005.¹⁴ This lengthy article discusses several of the homes that the Marquise owned and how they reflect something of Pompadour's character or life at the time. Scott spends a great deal of time on the Château at Bellevue and gives some really good descriptions of the other rooms. Naturally, she mentions the Turkish *boudoir*, but it is not the primary focus of her article, which is much more encompassing. My thesis gives complete attention to a room that only received two paragraphs in Scott's article.

Of additional importance to this study are works that discuss the life of Madame de Pompadour and her contributions to the arts. I work from several biographies. Nancy Mitford

¹³ Xavier Salman, *Madame de Pompadour et les arts* (Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 2002).

¹⁴ Katie Scott, "Framing Ambition," 248-290.

and Danielle Gallet wrote two older biographies of the Marquise; their research provided the foundation for many of the arguments we have today about Pompadour.¹⁵ Later biographers, such as Evelyne Lever and Christine Pevitt Algrant include more discussion about arguable aspects of Pompadour's life, such as whether or not she was truly illegitimate and her true rapport with the king.¹⁶ More recent biographies, such as those by Margaret Crosland and Rosamond Hooper-Hamersly go into more detail about Pompadour's contributions to politics and the arts and provide more scholarly details than previous biographies.¹⁷ These resources have helped me to have a greater understanding of the Marquise and her century.

Important sources for further understanding about Pompadour's patronage of the arts and its implications include Elise Goodman's *The Portraits of Madame de Pompadour* (2000) and Colin Jones's *Madame de Pompadour: Images of a Mistress* (2002).¹⁸ Both authors investigate how the Marquise used the arts, particularly her portraits, to communicate a message about identity.

Recent works about identity and architectural interiors, such as *Architectural Space in Eighteenth Century Europe: Constructing Identities and Interiors* (2010), edited by Denise Amy Baxter and Meredith Martin, provide much information about other spaces and what they say

¹⁵ See Danielle Gallet, *Madame de Pompadour, ou le pouvoir féminin* (Paris: Fayard, 1985); and Nancy Mitford, *Madame de Pompadour* (New York: Harper & Row, 1968).

¹⁶ See Evelyne Lever, *Madame de Pompadour: A Life*, trans. Catherine Temerson (New York: St Martin's Press, 2002); and Christine Pevitt Algrant, *Madame de Pompadour: Mistress of France* (New York: Grove Press, 2002).

¹⁷ See Margaret Crosland, *Madame de Pompadour: Sex, Culture, and the Power Game* (Stroud: Sutton, 2000); and Rosamond Hooper-Hamersly, *The Hunt after Jeanne-Antoinette de Pompadour: Patronage, Politics, Art, and the French Enlightenment* (Plymouth, UK: Lexington Books, 2011).

¹⁸ Colin Jones, *Madame de Pompadour: Images of a Mistress* (London: National Gallery Company, 2002); and Elise Goodman, *The Portraits of Madame de Pompadour* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2000).

about the patron or culture of the period.¹⁹ This book, in particular, was very influential for me because it is one of the first compilations of essays that deal with the importance of interior spaces and décor in terms of what they say about patronage. Meredith Martin's *Dairy Queens: The Politics of Pastoral Architecture from Catherine de' Medicis to Marie Antoinette* (2011) is equally important for this thesis because of its contributions toward understanding noble women's obsession with the pastoral and acting out fantasies in private spaces.²⁰

It is also important to mention recent works about exoticism in eighteenth-century art. One of those works is Nebahat Avcioglu's *Turquerie and the Politics of Representation, 1728-1876* (2011).²¹ This is the first comprehensive work to deal exclusively with *la turquerie* and its implications. Publication of the book shows recent interest in this area and how open the field is for new contributions. Avcioglu mentions Pompadour's Turkish *boudoir* in her book, but only as an example of Turkish décor. She offers no in-depth analysis of the room, which is what I have found across the board with this topic.

My thesis takes all of these works into consideration, as well as many others, and incorporates their scholarship in order to draw upon and make a contribution to studies of eighteenth-century art and architecture.

¹⁹ *Architectural Space in Eighteenth Century Europe: Constructing Identities and Interiors*, ed. Denise Amy Baxter and Meredith Martin (Surrey, England and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010).

²⁰ Meredith Martin, *Dairy Queens: The Politics of Pastoral Architecture from Catherine de' Medicis to Marie Antoinette*.

²¹ Nebahat Avcioglu, *Turquerie and the Politics of Representation*.

2 PUBLIC AND PRIVATE LIFE

2.1 Beginnings

Just as the story of a human life begins with a birthday, so, too, does the life of the Chateau de Bellevue, which would become a beloved residence for one of the most important women in eighteenth-century France, the Marquise de Pompadour. Most noble homes of this period were already in existence, handed down to posterity or presented as gifts to new court favorites. Bellevue was, in fact, constructed for and under the supervision of the Marquise de Pompadour, an unusual circumstance in itself, and one that would allow for a more personal and intimate relationship between patron and house.²² Because Pompadour was active in each stage of this home's development, her individual stamp is present on every aspect of its creation, making it truly hers.²³ This was the home that would become her "refuge" from endless responsibilities at court and today, over two centuries later, helps us to understand more about the private life of this very public woman.²⁴

Louis XV of purchased land in the Meudon region overlooking the Seine River in 1748. The king's favorite architect, Ange-Jacques Gabriel, began construction on Bellevue that year, and the king formally presented the chateau to the Marquise de Pompadour as a gift in 1750.²⁵ It was to be a small, country estate that would allow for only a small number of visitors at any time, thus encouraging intimate gatherings. According to Katie Scott, Bellevue conforms to the

²² Some of the most comprehensive accounts of Bellevue come from the following sources: Paul Biver, *Histoire du château de Bellevue* (Paris: G. Enault, 1933); Rosamond Hooper-Hamersly, *The Hunt after Jeanne-Antoinette de Pompadour: Patronage, Politics, Art, and the French Enlightenment*; Xavier Salman, *Madame de Pompadour et les arts*; and Katie Scott, "Framing Ambition," 248-290.

²³ Salman, *Madame de Pompadour*, 99-101.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 99 and Scott, "Framing Ambition," 263-265.

²⁵ Salman, *Madame de Pompadour*, 99-104. Gabriel was *premier architect* of Versailles (after his father) and is also famous for creating the Petit Trianon.

typical norms of a “château,” yet it also possesses something more of the poetic in its emphasis on the pastoral.²⁶ The home contained a salon, a music room, a dining room, a bathroom, a bedroom for the king on the second level, a *boudoir* for Pompadour on the first level, a small theater, and two dairy farms.²⁷ These rooms were specially designed for specific ceremonial, social, and private functions, and all were to incorporate comfort for the Marquise.²⁸

One can appreciate the private space Bellevue accommodated Pompadour only after a necessary mention of her public persona as the King’s titled mistress. Before becoming a marquise, Jeanne-Antoinette Poisson was born into a bourgeois family of financiers; her mother’s lover (and the alleged biological father of Pompadour) assisted with her education and introduced her at court. In 1745, Pompadour attended a masquerade ball (a fitting theme for the rest of her life, as we shall see later in this chapter) and had the fateful meeting with the King, who, besotted with her, immediately made arrangements for her to become his mistress, an official title she would carry until her death in 1764.²⁹ The relationship between the king and Pompadour was an intriguing one, beginning with a passionate love affair, evolving into a deep friendship, and ending with great mutual respect.

Many scholars believe that 1750 marked a specific shift in the rapport between Louis XV and Pompadour as sexual relations between them ceased, resulting in a new era of friendship.

²⁶ Scott, “Framing Ambition,” 264. Here Scott states that “poetry’s chateaux were in happy isolation, offered security and intimacy, and were always small.”

²⁷ Ibid, 265 for the plan of Bellevue; also in Salman, *Madame de Pompadour*, 99.

²⁸ The idea of comfort will be explored further in Chapter 2, particularly the correlation between comfort and social class.

²⁹ This is also the time when she would receive the necessary noble title of Marquise de Pompadour, making her an acceptable consort to the king. Naturally, this “new” nobility accorded to the bourgeoisie mistress was viewed as an affront to much of the older nobility, and this aspect of Pompadour’s life will be explored in more detail in Chapter 2. Three excellent biographies of Madame de Pompadour that discuss these aspects in detail are Evelyne Lever, *Madame de Pompadour*; Danielle Gallet, *Madame de Pompadour*; and Christine Pevitt Algrant, *Madame de Pompadour*.

Pompadour had long suffered from fragile health, and Louis's voracious sexual appetite was already legendary, so as his interest in the Marquise waned, she had to find other ways to stay in favor.³⁰ Louis's distaste for governing let open a door for the Marquise to make her presence and influence permanent features of the court. Through her sharp intellect, she became a symbol of the Enlightenment, supporting many scholarly causes and philosophers; she used this influence to become the premier French diplomat, making important decisions in the governing of France.³¹

The changing role of the Marquise is evident in the many portraits of her displayed publicly during this time. If one examines Jean-Marc Nattier's 1748 portrait of the young, newly instated mistress, the treatment is typical of what one would expect (Figure 1). Nattier represents Pompadour as the Roman goddess Diana; the idea of the mistress as huntress was a trope used since the time of Diane de Poitiers, as well as for more recent courtesans like Athenais de Montespan.³² Not only was the subject matter predictable, but the style, palette, and pose of the sitter were also recognizable parts of Nattier's formula for depicting beautiful young women.³³ The lack of individuality in this portrait points to a very passive role on the part of the subject and is indicative of little (if any) contribution Pompadour made toward the outcome.³⁴

Works like these have led to some criticism about how much influence Pompadour ever actual-

³⁰ Hooper-Hamersly, *The Hunt after Jeanne-Antoinette de Pompadour*, 118-123.

³¹ *Ibid*, 120-121. In fact, it was said amongst foreign dignitaries that if one wanted anything done, it was important to see Pompadour. Also, when looking through the inventory of Pompadour's belongings, one can see the rich, lavish gifts bestowed upon her by foreign courts during this period.

³² Colin Jones, *Madame de Pompadour*, 47.

³³ *Ibid*, 62.

³⁴ *Ibid*, 61. According to Jones, the image was very generic and seems to have more of the artist's hand in them than Pompadour's.

ly had in *any* of her artistic pursuits, yet current scholars agree that later portraits and other fruits of her patronage reveal a strategic approach and personal hand in fashioning her image.³⁵

After 1750, portraits of the Marquise display a new persona, the *femme savante*.³⁶ In a portrait of Pompadour by the artist Maurice-Quentin de la Tour from 1755 (Figure 2), there is a marked departure from Nattier's formulaic huntress. Here we see the quintessential *femme savante* seated at a desk where books, a globe, and a copy of Montesquieu's *Spirit of the Law* intermingle; a guitar, a musical score, and a portfolio of drawings are scattered about the Marquise's space. These are the symbols of a learned, scholarly woman, and they sent a message to the court that though her personal role with the king had changed, she had a new, more vital role as cultural patron and diplomat.³⁷ In fact, the great philosopher Voltaire, who received much assistance from Pompadour, remarked to Diderot, a fellow receptor of Pompadour's patronage, that the Marquise was "one of us."³⁸

The comparison between these two portraits tells us that, after 1750, Madame de Pompadour made a conscious effort to use art as propaganda to promote herself publically as the intellectual friend and advisor to the king. These were portraits that would be on display at the Salons, the ones that everyone would see. They provided a public forum for the Marquise to

³⁵ Donald Posner, "Mme. De Pompadour as a Patron of the Visual Arts," *Art Bulletin* 72, no. 1 (1990). Posner is of the view that Pompadour did not hold any special eye or proclivity for art patronage, but was rather easily led by her artist friends. See also Hooper-Hamersly, *The Hunt after Jeanne-Antoinette de Pompadour*, 1-21. Hooper-Hamersly is of the opposite perspective, asserting that Pompadour possessed much control and personal involvement in the art she commissioned, particularly after 1750. Her arguments about Pompadour's involvement in the arts are more convincing and have led me to believe that Pompadour's choices were deliberate.

³⁶ Good sources for further discussion about the *femmes savantes* of the eighteenth century are Roland Bonnel and Catherine Rubinger, *Femmes savantes et femmes d'esprit: Women Intellectuals of the French Eighteenth Century* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 1994), Elisabeth Badinter, *Emilie, Emilie, ou l'ambition féminine au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Flammarion, 1983), and Dena Goodman, *Republic of Letters* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1996).

³⁷ Jones, *Madame de Pompadour*, 65.

³⁸ Voltaire, *Correspondance*, LV, p. 19, letter 11026, 8 May 1764. Quoted in Jones, *Madame de Pompadour*, 65.

communicate her importance and to legitimize her role at the court.³⁹ The new active role she assumed in constructing her self-image would also be directed toward the décor and layout of her new home at Bellevue.

2.2 Home and Refuge

The duties Pompadour took on at court as of 1750 would result in long hours of work, a constant need to be aware and informed about political dealings, and a never ending stream of rituals and ceremonies requiring her presence at Versailles. She described her existence as “*en fuite en avant*” – or always here and there with never a chance to stop.⁴⁰ It is not surprising that the Marquise wanted her small, pastoral home to be the opposite of everything she experienced at Versailles.

Comfort was born in the eighteenth century. Even, and especially, in lavish palaces comfort was an alien concept. It was with the rise of the bourgeoisie that a comfortable home became possible.⁴¹ I will discuss more about the relationship between comfort and class in Chapter 3; for now, I want to emphasize the marked distinction between the public, ritual-based, uncomfortable life at Versailles and the private life at Bellevue, which embraced comfort both in its design and lifestyle.

The furniture at Bellevue attests to the emphasis on comfort. Xavier Salman has inventoried the items bought for Bellevue, which includes several armchairs and fauteuils, providing

³⁹ Algrant, *Madame de Pompadour*, 120-121.

⁴⁰ *Ibid*, 120-136; and Lever, *Madame de Pompadour*, 349.

⁴¹ John Potvin, “Introduction: Fashion, Interior Design, and the Contours of Modern Identity,” in *Material Cultures, 1740-1920: The Meanings and Pleasures of Collecting*, ed. Alla Myzelev and John Potvin (Surrey, England and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009), 3. See also, Sarah Maza, *The Myth of the French Bourgeoisie: An Essay on the Social Imaginary, 1750-1850* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003), 41-48. Maza argues that most people in France were living a more comfortable life regardless of class or status.

a place to sit for all invited guests.⁴² This is in contrast to public life at Versailles, which involved long hours of standing for most courtiers, withholding the relief of a stool for only a small number of nobles.⁴³ The discomfort was even more impacted by the lack of toilet facilities. The stories of courtiers urinating in corners at Versailles are numerous, and it is known that women carried little chamber pots (called *bourdaloues*) in which to relieve themselves underneath their skirts while standing at court for hours on end.⁴⁴ In contrast, the *appartement des bains* at Bellevue was the epitome of comfort, offering a large open space in a pavilion to the left of the courtyard. One entered the bathroom at Bellevue to find a large fireplace, a bathtub, a closet, and a closed stool closet. The windows opened to the north, which was supposed to provide fresh air.⁴⁵ No royal homes could boast such a comfortable bathroom. The fact that the space was large, comfortable, and decorated with luxurious fabrics (including silk wallpaper and velvet drapes) offers proof of the space as a unique destination of escape.

As a country home, Bellevue not only was a place of respite from duties, but also served as a health retreat. The Marquise developed a close friendship with her physician, François Quesnay. Remembered today as the cofounder of Physiocracy, an economic theory that extolled land as the true source of a nation's vitality and health, Quesnay was Pompadour's constant companion during her years at Bellevue, where she put his theories about the healing qualities of land into use.⁴⁶ Louis XV had already created a small, pastoral hermitage for himself at La Muette in 1746, which included a dairy that Quesnay had recommended to offer health

⁴² Salman, *Madame de Pompadour*, 99-104.

⁴³ Lever, *Madame de Pompadour*, 36-41. For more about the rules of Versailles court culture see Tony Spawforth, *Versailles: A Biography of a Palace*, 70. And Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, *Saint-Simon, and the Court of Louis XIV*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), 23-61

⁴⁴ Lisa Hilton, *Athenais: The Real Queen of France* (New York: Back Bay Books, 2002), 165.

⁴⁵ Scott, "Framing Ambition," 266-267.

⁴⁶ Martin, *Dairy Queens*, 118.

benefits.⁴⁷ Pompadour imitated this model at Bellevue where she often pretended to be a dairy maid with her daughter, Alexandrine.⁴⁸ This act of role-playing fell under the guidelines of Doctor Quesnay and amused the king when he visited Bellevue, but it also had a deeper role of connecting Pompadour to the nobility.

2.3 Performance, Masquerade, and the *Boudoir*

Meredith Martin's recent publication, *Dairy Queens*, is dedicated to the study of noblewomen's desire to pretend being dairy maids.⁴⁹ She notes that this is primarily a French preoccupation and that this type of role-playing allowed noblewomen to participate in the *ancien régime's* attachment to the land, particularly once the court had moved exclusively to Versailles.⁵⁰ In creating her own dairy, Pompadour not only reaped the benefits of fresh air and outdoor work, but she also was able to imitate the fantasy world of other noblewomen, therefore reaffirming her right to be a part of that class.⁵¹ Thus, in her portraits (as we have seen), as well as in her role-playing at Bellevue, she was constantly legitimating her claim to nobility, not only as the king's trusted consort, but also in her own right. A connection to the land is reflected in Carle Van Loo's 1760 portrait of Pompadour as *La Belle Jardinière* (Figure 3), displaying a strong, healthy Marquise in the country holding up the fruits of her gardening. The portrait shows us the benefits of pastoral life as well as further linking Pompadour to the noble class through role-playing.⁵²

⁴⁷ Ibid, 123-124.

⁴⁸ Jones, *Madame de Pompadour*, 87.

⁴⁹ See note 46.

⁵⁰ Martin, *Dairy Queens*, 117-118.

⁵¹ Ibid, 120.

⁵² Jones, *Madame de Pompadour*, 69 and 78.

This idea of performance is one of the only constants in the Marquise's very changeable life. Playing the roles of seductive mistress, loyal friend, diplomat, advisor, *femme savante*, hostess, bourgeoisie, and noblewoman, Pompadour lived her entire life as if she were on a stage, her identity fluctuating with each transition. It seems almost inevitable that her homes should accommodate each role she needed to play. Through her architectural interiors, Pompadour created new theaters that would enable her to act out whatever persona she needed to be at that moment. The use of architectural interiors as a space of performance was not unique to Pompadour; it was an eighteenth-century phenomenon whereby the home became a place to create and live out new identities. According to Denise Amy Baxter, "The architectural interior therefore not only functioned as a site to display an idealized self, but also as a continuum within which the self might be discerned or crafted, such that rank, class, and even authenticity or naturalness might be seen as roles to be enacted."⁵³ Pompadour acted out her role as a noblewoman at Bellevue in her dairies, but she also acted out roles in other rooms as well, most notably, her Turkish *boudoir*.

The Turkish *boudoir* at Bellevue is the central focus of my thesis. The room is very unique because it is one of the first times we see a space decorated in the overall theme of *la turquerie*, or Turkish fashions.⁵⁴ It is also important as a theatrical space that offers a glimpse into the private life of Pompadour. No room could be more personal than a bedroom, and this was no ordinary place to lay one's head. This was a rich, luxurious space that was not just designed for sleep, but for pleasure as well.

⁵³ Baxter, "Introduction: Constructing Space and Identity in the Eighteenth Century Interior," 3.

⁵⁴ Perrin Stein, "Madame de Pompadour and the Harem Imagery at Bellevue," 30-31. This is a theme that will be explored further in Chapter 4.

The concept of the “*boudoir*” came about at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Before that, the bedroom was one of many rooms called a *cabinet*. The *cabinets* were connected with each one serving a different function. The *boudoir* was born after the death of Louis XIV when a desire to seek out private pleasure replaced the Sun King’s strict public absolutism, hence the birth of the light, fluffy Rococo with its themes of intimacy and flirtation.⁵⁵ The *boudoir* was a product of this movement toward gaiety and an enjoyment of life.⁵⁶

Literature of the day highlights the playful and seductive nature of the *boudoir*, and most sources seem to duplicate its characterization; for example, the *boudoir* should have a soft, rounded shape (usually an oval), as well as luxurious decoration, and it should be a “secret” place, often accessible by a secret staircase – all of these elements were classified as feminine.⁵⁷ Madame de Pompadour’s *boudoir turq* seems to have followed these guidelines. Though the plan of Bellevue reveals a rectangular-shaped room (Figure 4), the walls were made to look rounded by hung Chinese gauze. The décor was certainly luxurious with tapestries covering the walls and furniture *à la turq*, such as ottomans. There was also a secret staircase that connected to the king’s *chambre à coucher* (notably not mentioned in the plans as a *boudoir*) located above hers.⁵⁸ This seems to imply that the Marquise may have anticipated visits from the king even though the staircase connecting their *appartements* at Versailles had already been closed.⁵⁹ In addition, the *boudoir* was acceptable only in smaller homes; one would not

⁵⁵ Delon, *L’Invention du boudoir*, 24-29.

⁵⁶ *Ibid*, 26-27. For more on historical connotations of the *boudoir*, see also Jill H. Casid, “Commerce in the *Boudoir*,” in *Women, Art and the Politics of Identity in Eighteenth Century Europe*, ed. Melissa Hyde and Jennifer Milam (Surrey, England and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2003), 91-97.

⁵⁷ Delon, *L’Invention du boudoir*, 32-33.

⁵⁸ Salman, *Madame de Pompadour*, 99-101.

⁵⁹ Gallet, *Madame de Pompadour*, 153-155. Gallett doubts he ever used it, but other scholars (such as Hooper-Hamersly, *The Hunt after Jeanne-Antoinette de Poisson*, 117-119) have questioned exactly when the sexual rela-

find a *boudoir* in a grand manor or palace.⁶⁰ Bellevue, therefore, as a small country home, would have been an appropriate place for a *boudoir*.

The *boudoir* represents the Marquise's wish to have a very personal, intimate space for her bedroom. The room lacked the formality of her Versailles *appartements* and reflected the desire for a comfortable, lived space. One can further see this in the two overdoor paintings that hung in the *boudoir*, one of which was a portrait of Pompadour as a Sultana, and the other portrayed two women embroidering (Figures 5 and 6). In the paintings, we see women enjoying the company of other women in lush interiors based on European preconceptions of a Turkish harem.⁶¹ The women seem at ease in each other's company, and the atmosphere is relaxed and informal, and therefore compatible with the "refuge" from public life that Pompadour sought at Bellevue.

The exotic nature of the *boudoir* (which will be discussed in further detail in Chapter 4) contributed to the theatricality of the home, which allowed for more role-playing on the part of the Marquise. Pompadour loved the theater and had one installed at Bellevue where she would act in plays for the king and her other guests, just as she had done at Versailles.⁶² Several accounts exist of her acting out these roles off-stage as well. In December 1748, Pompadour played Herminie in the opera *Tancredi* at Versailles. She reportedly wore the Turkish-inspired costume from this play in her *appartements* and had eight more pairs of "harem pants" created

tions between the king and Pompadour really ended. Furthermore, the staircase could have been placed there simply for charm and convention.

⁶⁰ Delon, *L'Invention de boudoir*, 29.

⁶¹ The irony of a *boudoir* as a sexualized space for a mistress whose lover no longer visits her bed will be addressed in Chapter 3.

⁶² Algrant, *Madame de Pompadour*, 117-118.

for her private use.⁶³ There is growing scholarship addressing the relationship between Pompadour's stage roles and her reenactments of them in her private life.⁶⁴ Pompadour's desire to pretend to be a Sultana extended from the actors' stage to the *boudoir*.

This blend of public and private seemed to pervade the Marquise's being, which always appeared to be a pull between two worlds, a metaphor that will be appropriate for more aspects of this thesis. Pompadour never truly fit into any category, whether it be class, gender, or even as a mistress. This "in-betweenness" leads me to the concept of liminality as a way to understand Pompadour's existence. According to anthropologist Victor Turner, liminality refers to a mode of consciousness that is "betwixt-and-between the normal, day-to-day cultural and social states and processes of getting and spending."⁶⁵ Liminality also offers "a space in which individuals can step back from practical concerns and social relations of everyday life and look at themselves and their world – or at some aspect of it – with different thoughts and feelings."⁶⁶ By escaping her everyday rituals at Versailles, Pompadour was able to enter a liminal space at Bellevue, one that allowed her to operate on a different plane – almost a fantasy world – where the normal rules of society did not apply. As Turner further states, "All performances require framed spaces set off from the routine world."⁶⁷ The performances lived at Bellevue were a

⁶³ Spawforth, *Versailles*, 208.

⁶⁴ Based on a conversation at the annual conference for the Society of Eighteenth-Century Studies in March 2012 with Alden Gordon, a leading scholar on the art patronage of Pompadour and her brother, the Marquis de Marigny. Gordon will soon be publishing an essay about the relationships between Pompadour's theater roles and private artistic commissions.

⁶⁵ Victor Turner, "Frame, Flow, and Reflection: Ritual and Drama as Public Liminality," in *Performance in Postmodern Culture*, ed. Michel Benamou and Charles Caramello (Milwaukee, WI: Paj Pubn, 1977), 33.

⁶⁶ Carol Duncan, "The Art Museum as Ritual," in *The Art of Art History: A Critical Anthology*, ed. Daniel Preziosi (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 427.

⁶⁷ Turner, "Frame, Flow, and Reflection," 34.

hybridization of the public and the private roles the Marquise both wanted and needed to play to ensure her close position to the king.

Bellevue, therefore, breathed its first breaths, created from scratch to provide comfort and respite for its mistress. Though usually described as “simple,” the Marquise de Pompadour imbued Bellevue with her complexity.⁶⁸ This was the place where the Sultana of the *boudoir* could mingle easily with the king’s friend, and the political *femme savante* could be at ease with the pastoral noblewoman of the dairy. All of Pompadour’s public and private identities, which seem so opposed to one another, could find comfort and unity on the liminal stage of Bellevue.

⁶⁸ Martin, *Dairy Queens*, 116.

3 GENDER AND CLASS

3.1 The Bourgeois Interior

As we saw in Chapter 2, Bellevue was created to be a private residence for the Marquise de Pompadour, one that became a stage for her various personae. Yet, the story of Bellevue encompasses other layers of complexity that offer today's scholars an opportunity to observe class and gender complications that are peculiar to the mid-eighteenth century.

Recent eighteenth-century scholarship reflects an increasing interest in domestic architectural interiors, particularly those functioning as portraits of their patrons.⁶⁹ While earlier architects had focused primarily on the exterior of buildings, the mid-eighteenth century represents a shift in how patrons viewed and approached interior architecture and décor, with the exterior taking a backseat in importance.⁷⁰ The interiors reveal much about their inhabitants' individual tastes, as well as provide glimpses into eighteenth-century concepts of gender and identity.⁷¹

They also reflect shifts in class, most notably the affluence and rise of the bourgeoisie who placed an emphasis on comfort in their homes.⁷² According to historian Sarah Maza, France underwent a major economic shift after 1730 that benefited most people from various social classes so that most could aspire to own "luxury" items, such as dinnerware or furniture. She also contends that comfort was the natural product of the rise of a more diverse economy

⁶⁹ Baxter, "Introduction: Constructing Space and Identity in the Eighteenth-Century Interior," 2.

⁷⁰ Scott, *The Rococo Interior*, 97.

⁷¹ An interesting example comes from Kathryn Norberg's research on courtesans in eighteenth-century France. The interiors of their home reflect personal choices that flouted class and gender distinctions. These choices also allowed the courtesans to take on different personae through the architectural spaces they created. See Kathryn Norberg, "Salon as Stage: Actress/Courtesans and their Homes in Late Eighteenth Century Paris," in *Architectural Space in Eighteenth Century Europe: Constructing Identities and Interiors*, 110-123.

⁷² John Potvin, "Introduction: Fashion, Interior Design, and the Contours of Modern Identity," 3. Also see Joan de Jean, *Age of Comfort: When Paris Discovered Casual and the Modern Home Began* (New York, Bloomsbury, 2009).

that is traditionally linked to the bourgeoisie.⁷³ Christine Adams' study of the eighteenth-century Lamothe family (consisting of lawyers and doctors) also indicates that the typical bourgeois family focused attention on comfort while not exceeding one's means and sinking into an overly luxurious lifestyle.⁷⁴ Pompadour, as a royal mistress, certainly would have been expected to cater to her lover's taste for luxury, but her choices at Bellevue indicate a strong sense of balance, a byword for the cautiousness of the bourgeoisie according to Adams. Pompadour's acceptance of a small home, interest in its health amenities (as discussed in the previous chapter), and attention to simplicity are all symptomatic of her bourgeois beginnings and parallel the choices made by the Lamothe family.⁷⁵

Domestic interiors themselves became gendered almost exclusively as feminine.⁷⁶ This is in part because the dominant style, the Rococo, was perceived as having feminine attributes in its soft touch, pastel palette, and frivolous themes. The Rococo also became associated with the salon culture that was established and maintained by women. In fact, the eighteenth century itself is often considered to be the century of women because of the prevalence of female leaders, writers, artists, and intellectuals.⁷⁷ This provided fertile ground for great female patronage, or *matronage*, of the arts. The Marquise de Pompadour was one of the greatest art

⁷³ Maza, *The Myth of the French Bourgeoisie*, 41-48. Here, Maza discusses the various goods that, once considered luxury items, were available in differing levels of quality for most people. On pages 55-56, she goes on to describe the state of confusion in which the traditional French social hierarchy found itself as a result of this new found wealth that trickled into the hands of most social classes.

⁷⁴ Christine Adams, *A Taste for Comfort and Status: A Bourgeois Family in Eighteenth-Century France* (University Park: The Pennsylvania University Press, 2000), 38.

⁷⁵ *Ibid*, 39-46. In these pages, Adams describes the Lamothe family's interest in health, cleanliness, balance, and the desire to run an efficient home – all elements that were probably a part of Pompadour's upbringing as well and subsequently influenced her choices for the most personal of her homes, Bellevue.

⁷⁶ Scott, *The Rococo Interior*, 255.

⁷⁷ *Ibid*, 255-257. Also Bonnel and Rubinger, *Femmes savantes et femmes d'esprit*, 3-4; and Badinter, *Emilie, Emilie, ou l'ambition féminine*, 33. These sources attribute the short burst of female power in the mid-eighteenth century to the ineffectual leadership of Louis XV and XVI, which fell between two of the most absolutist reigns of French history – those of Louis XIV and Napoleon.

patrons of the day, and her choices reveal much about her character, in addition to providing insight about class and gender preferences. By examining her patronage at Bellevue, this chapter will connect concepts of Pompadour's private life to implications of femininity and her bourgeois roots.

Pompadour was not the first royal mistress to be plucked from the bourgeoisie, and most notables at court were convinced she would be a passing fancy, especially for such a philandering king. The Duc de Luynes observed the great infatuation Pompadour and the king had for each other early in their relationship, but believed it was all for fulfilling the king's sexual desires and that Pompadour would "never become a permanent mistress."⁷⁸ The court was shocked when the king bestowed the noble title and lands of the marquisate of Pompadour upon her and then sought a willing aristocrat to present officially the new Marquise at court. Most refused, and Louis eventually had to coerce the scheming Princesse de Conti with bribes in order to have the task done.⁷⁹ Pompadour then became an object of great jealousy. Julian Swann observes, "The place of official mistress was a well-established feature of the French court and the occupant enjoyed the privilege of her own apartments and household. There was never a shortage of candidates for the post, and the aristocratic women of their families, coveted the wealth and power it could bring."⁸⁰ That this prize went to a "little bourgeois" (as Pompadour was often called) frustrated the aristocracy and resulted in venom against Pompadour.⁸¹

⁷⁸ Duc de Luynes. *Memoires de Duc de Luynes* (Paris:Firmin Didot Frères, Cie. Libraires, 1861), 354.

⁷⁹ Hooper-Hamersly, *The Hunt after Jeanne-Antoinette de Pompadour*, 98.

⁸⁰ Julian Swann, *Politics and the Parlement of Paris under Louis XV, 1754-1774* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 53.

⁸¹ Hooper-Hamersly, *The Hunt after Jeanne-Antoinette de Pompadour*, 99.

As Pompadour's favor with the king grew, as well as her political influence, she suffered new indignities in the form of degrading songs circulated about her called the *Poissonades* (a play on her maiden name). In these short verses, the Marquise was humiliated:

The great lords degrade themselves
The financiers enrich themselves
All the fish [Poisson family] enrich themselves
It is the reign of the good for nothings.⁸²

Pompadour later discovered that it was the disgruntled Comte de Maurepas who was responsible. His purpose, which he mentioned to others at the court, was to get rid of Pompadour and bring back one of Louis's previous aristocratic mistresses, who would no longer contribute to the "fracas of the court."⁸³ Pompadour encouraged the king to react by dismissing Maurepas (who had served as minister of the navy in Paris). This was a great triumph for the Marquise and solidified her position at court, but it also resulted in further attacks from Parisians who had admired Maurepas.⁸⁴ The *Poissonades* demonstrate that Pompadour's bourgeois roots were a constant source of agitation not only in royal circles, but even among the commoners in Paris. She became the symbol of a decadent, immoral, and ineffectual court wherein she deviously controlled the king and usurped his authority.

Criticism of Bellevue mirrors that of its mistress. The home was small by aristocratic standards, which became a joke among certain nobles because it was equated with Madame de Pompadour's "petite" or bourgeois status.⁸⁵ A previous royal mistress, Athenaïs de Montespan, had refused the gift of a small home from King Louis XIV, citing its size as a problem that made

⁸² Ibid, 135.

⁸³ Algrant, *Madame de Pompadour*, 87-88.

⁸⁴ Ibid, 89.

⁸⁵ Ibid, 56 and 120.

it more appropriate for an “opera girl.” The Duc de Luynes relayed this tale to several people at court after having been to Bellevue, and the analogy was not lost anyone.⁸⁶ The “small” nature of Bellevue was equated with Pompadour’s bourgeois beginnings, and even though she held a noble title, her status was only that of an opera girl, slang for a prostitute.⁸⁷ A further reflection of Pompadour’s bourgeois tastes was the emphasis on comfort – unheard of in an old regime aristocratic home.

Chapter 2 discussed Pompadour’s efforts to assimilate to the culture of noble women through pastoral role-playing. Surely Pompadour must have sought some common ground with her aristocratic peers, but she also could never have forgotten her middle-class beginnings. As constant court gossip, criticism, and the *Poissonades* attest, she was never *allowed* to forget them. In fact, in some ways, she also seems to have embraced and felt comfortable with her bourgeois past. Even in the gesture of accepting the “small” home at Bellevue, she acknowledges that the home is worthy of her status. This separates Pompadour from Montespan, who was able to refuse a “small” home because of her noble blood.⁸⁸ The emphasis on comfort and simplicity at Bellevue are also indicative of bourgeois influence. John Potvin discusses the “in between” status of interior design during the eighteenth century as a liminal space between the permanent status of architecture and the fleeting status of fashion. The interior represented a world that combined both and therefore became a symbol of domestic stability (as a space anchored within the durability of architecture, but also able to reflect the current trends of

⁸⁶ Scott, “Framing Ambition,” 264.

⁸⁷ *Ibid*, 265.

⁸⁸ Hilton, *Athenais: The Real Queen of France*, 118-119. In fact, Montespan’s noble lineage was even more royal than Louis XIV’s Bourbon line. This royal blood made Athenais a peer to her lover in a way that Pompadour could never be for Louis XV.

decoration and comfort), which gave it a distinctly bourgeois flavor.⁸⁹ Bellevue reflects the new interest in interior design and the desire to create a personal, intimate space that reinforced the importance of domesticity in a bourgeois home.⁹⁰

The Turkish *boudoir* at Bellevue has further class implications. The notion of a *boudoir* was relatively new in the eighteenth century, but most understood it to be a small, secret room (as noted in Chapter 2) that is usually located in a small home.⁹¹ The relationship of smallness with *boudoir*, house, and bourgeoisie shows some evidence of interconnectedness. Yet, it is to gender that the *boudoir* is more closely linked.

3.2 Gender and the *Boudoir*

The word “*boudoir*” is derived from the French verb *bouder* meaning “to pout.” The *Académie Française* officially recognized the word in 1740, and it came to have an ironic tone as a place where particularly a figure of a woman is located, “the woman patron who exercises control over culture through tactical use of sexuality.”⁹² The *boudoir* was a specifically feminine space. At Bellevue, the rounding of the rectangular space with fabrics and gauze added to the feminine “look.”⁹³ The very nature of the quiet, hidden, intimate space of the *boudoir* was also considered feminine.⁹⁴ The sensual dimension was, of course, feminized as well. Scenes, such as Pierre Antoine Baudouin’s *The Exhausted Quiver* show the *boudoir* as a place of female dominion, the male lover lying sprawled, surely exhausted, a pose suggesting a lack of power (Fig-

⁸⁹ Potvin, “Introduction,” 3.

⁹⁰ This can also be seen in the role-playing activities that Pompadour engaged in with her daughter, Alexandrine, and the king in her dairy farms, as discussed in Chapter 2. They could pretend that they were an average family doing normal “lower class” activities.

⁹¹ Delon, *L’Invention du boudoir*, 24-29.

⁹² Casid, “Commerce in the *Boudoir*,” 91.

⁹³ Salman, *Madame de Pompadour et les arts*, 99.

⁹⁴ Casid, “Commerce in the *Boudoir*,” 91-94.

ure 7). There is, then, a sense that because the *boudoir* was a space of feminine power, it must also be a space of emasculation.⁹⁵ Though *boudoirs* would become quotidian for mistresses in the later eighteenth century, Pompadour's is one of the first, and it displays all of the notable and quintessential qualities one would expect from a *boudoir*.⁹⁶

The choice of Turkish décor for the *boudoir* seems both natural and unusual for Madame de Pompadour. It is natural in the sense that Turkish culture came to be equated with the feminine, as well as with sultriness and idleness. It is no accident that Arabic words came to define trends in beds and chairs during this époque.⁹⁷ The choice of a feminine style goes well with the female characterization of the *boudoir* and indicates a conscious desire to impose femininity onto the space. This seems at odds, however, with the identity Pompadour was cultivating with the *femme savante* portraits at the same time (Figure 2). The *femme savantes* were often ridiculed as wanting to be men; in fact, an anecdote of the time stated that "a woman with a beard is not as repulsive as a woman who thinks in her own right."⁹⁸ So, by assuming the *femme savante* identity, and being the most powerful woman in France, Pompadour knew she was performing a masculine role, along with all of its consequences.⁹⁹ The portraits offered a masculine space where Pompadour could be accepted as an intellectual and play a male role with dignity. Yet, at Bellevue, she chose a distinctly feminine space for her bedroom, and this

⁹⁵ Badinter, *Emilie*, 33. Badinter describes the link between weakened masculinity and opportunities for heightened female power. It is interesting that the *boudoir* becomes a microcosm of what is also happening politically.

⁹⁶ Norberg, "Salon as Stage," 106-107.

⁹⁷ Madeleine Dobie, "Orientalism, Colonialism, and Furniture in Eighteenth-Century France," in *Furnishing the Eighteenth Century: What Furniture Can Tell Us about the European and American Past*, ed. Dena Goodman and Kathryn Norberg (New York: Routledge, 2007), 15.

⁹⁸ Quoted in Stacey Sloboda, "Fashioning Bluestocking Conversation: Elizabeth Montagu's Chinese Room," in *Architectural Space in Eighteenth-Century Europe: Constructing Identities and Interiors*, 144.

⁹⁹ For more on gender as a performance, see Judith Butler, "Performative Acts and Gender Construction: An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory," in *The Art of Art History: A Critical Anthology*, ed. Donald Preziosi (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 358-363.

was a real, lived space, not the imaginary world of a portrait. Social construction of gender difference establishes some spaces as feminine and others as masculine.¹⁰⁰ Pompadour used both as a way to build different gendered identities that were laid on the same foundation of empowerment.

A contemporary example that compares to Pompadour's Turkish bedroom is the "Chinese Room" at Lady Mary Montagu's home in London, which was created between 1748 and 1752, the same dates as the decoration of Pompadour's *boudoir turc*.¹⁰¹ Montagu was the wife of a British diplomat to Turkey, and she became famous for her poetry and descriptions of her travels. She was one of the founders of the Bluestocking Group in London, which met at her home to discuss intellectual pursuits. Though the group included several men, it was primarily hosted by women and was very "female-centric" in its activities, and could be likened to the salons of France. Montagu renovated her dressing room, where the Bluestockings met, to become the "Chinese Room" decorated in the *chinoiserie* style, a sister style to *la turquerie*. *Chinoiserie* drew more from Chinese and Japanese sources and was considered a very silly, trifling, and overly feminine style in England, much the same way that *la turquerie* became synonymous with the Rococo in France. Montagu herself mocked the choice of style in her letters, appearing to be almost embarrassed by having chosen it. But she *did* choose it, and for a purpose. Stacey Sloboda has read this choice as a conscious desire to link the room to stereotypes of femininity so that the "masculine" intellectual pursuits that transpired there would not have negative implications for Montagu's character. Sloboda argues that women in traditionally masculine roles

¹⁰⁰ Alison Blunt and Gillian Rose, "Introduction: Women's Colonial and Postcolonial Geographies," in *Writing Women and Space: Colonial and Postcolonial Geographies*, ed. Alison Blunt and Gillian Rose (New York and London: The Guilford Press, 1994), 3.

¹⁰¹ Sloboda, "Fashioning Bluestocking Conversation," 129.

often employed overly feminine devices to safeguard their reputations and to avoid being labeled as outcasts.¹⁰²

In some ways Madame de Pompadour's feminine *boudoir* served a similar purpose. The femininity of the space would balance out the masculine responsibilities the Marquise assumed at Versailles. What makes Pompadour's space different from Montagu's, however, is the function of each room and who would visit it. Montagu's Chinese Room was a *social* space created for intellectual conversations with multiple visitors, but Pompadour's *boudoir* was a *private* space for a single, female visitor. The rooms also differ in their patrons' underlying purpose in opting for over-the-top feminine décor. Whereas Montagu chose *chinoiserie*, a style she really did not even like, to win acceptance as a woman, Pompadour's choice of *la turquerie*, a fashion she adored, seems to be a personal choice with which she was quite comfortable.

If Montagu's choice of style represented a desire to fit in, then Pompadour's choice seems to acknowledge herself as "the other."¹⁰³ One can see this most fully in the portrait of Madame de Pompadour as a Sultana (Figure 5) which was part of a pair of overdoors that hung in the *boudoir*. By actually depicting herself as "the other," Pompadour confirms this part of her identity, and she may have chosen the subject as a way to negotiate her "otherness" within the French aristocratic hierarchy, as well as to reaffirm her femininity despite the masculine-gendered role she played at court.¹⁰⁴ The accompanying overdoor painting depicts two women embroidering (Figure 6), doing traditional women's work. Pompadour, as the only woman not working and as the sultana, is accorded some degree of status; however, she is not elevated

¹⁰² Ibid, 131-146.

¹⁰³ Dobie, "Orientalism, Colonialism, and Furniture," 16. Here Dobie discusses how oriental furniture was often used in literature as a way to go against rigid class structures and became more about bourgeois notions of comfort.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid, 16-17. See also, Avcioglu, *Turquerie and the Politics of Representation*, 15.

over the other women as one might expect in a painting about hierarchy. Her clothing is not very different from that of the other women. Pompadour also shares an almost tender, eye-level gaze with the servant who pours her coffee, a most unusual compositional motif.¹⁰⁵ Pompadour's ease with her servant and the other women of the harem seems to reflect comfort not only in a feminine space, but also in a less hierarchical one. This sense of comfort and ease seems to be the kind of space Pompadour was trying to create in the most intimate and personal room of her home.¹⁰⁶ The paintings, therefore, contribute to my argument that the *boudoir* actually undermined the power structure in terms of gender and class by exhibiting a relaxation of hierarchy and focusing on women's interactions with one another.

3.3 The Sultana Portrait

Indeed, if one contrasts the Pompadour portrait with another Sultana image of Made-moiselle de Clermont by Jean-Marc Nattier (Figure 8), there are striking differences.¹⁰⁷ Like Pompadour, Clermont led an unconventional life and was a great art patron, particularly in the numerous portraits she commissioned. Kathleen Nicholson contends that Clermont had a long

¹⁰⁵ Marcia Pointon, "Going Turkish in Eighteenth-Century London: Lady Mary Wortley Montagu and her Portraits," in *Hanging the Head: Portraiture and Social Formation in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 140-157. Pointon discusses the Jonathan Richardson portrait of Montagu from 1725 as a statement on hierarchy – Montagu is larger than her servant, who is pushed into the background so that his mistress who seems to be almost aglow takes front, center. Another example is Jean-Baptiste-Andre Gautier-Dagoty's portrait of Madame du Barry with her servant Zamor from 1771, in Perrin Stein, "Amedee Van Loo's *Costume turc*," *Art Bulletin* 78 no. 3 (1996): 420. Here, once again, the mistress is not engaged with her servant and is larger than he is. She looks out of the canvas at the viewer, while Zamor looks up at her. These are very different in construction from Pompadour's image where mistress and servant share a gaze and the servant is not represented in a derogatory way. These images will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 4.

¹⁰⁶ Interestingly, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, in his famous *Lettre d'Alembert*, states that salons were the harems of France. This analogy seems apt here because Madame de Pompadour is drawing upon both cultures, and it is my opinion that these identities reflect her bourgeois background. The choice of identities that are distinctly bourgeois, and not aristocratic, shows Pompadour's comfort level with her status and supports my conclusion. Quoted in Dobie, "Orientalism, Colonialism, and Furniture," 16.

¹⁰⁷ The Nattier portrait is from 1733 and hung at Clermont's family home of Chantilly, which Pompadour visited, but it is unknown whether or not she ever actually saw this portrait or if it could have been an influence on her own later Sultana image. It is also worth noting that Clermont died four years before Pompadour and the king met.

professional relationship with Nattier as her chief portraitist and that she often influenced the artistic direction or message of her portraits.¹⁰⁸ The Sultana portrait of Clermont is the only one of its kind in Nattier's *oeuvre*, so Nicholson believes that Clermont must have had a hand in choosing its content and composition.¹⁰⁹ Both Pompadour and Clermont shared the desire to manipulate how they were perceived through their portraits, and both chose an Eastern setting, but their messages are quite different.

The most obvious difference is the sexual suggestiveness of Clermont's portrait. We see her either before or after a bath, as evidenced by her state of dishabille and the servant emptying a large copper basin to the right. Clermont reveals her legs to the viewer and locks her eyes with ours in a haughty gaze. Turkey and the realm of the harem fascinated Mademoiselle de Clermont, just as they did Madame de Pompadour, and the sexualizing of the harem is clear in Clermont's portrayal.¹¹⁰ Pompadour's image, on the other hand, offers no such sexuality. Pompadour is fully clothed and does not engage with the viewer. Though she is equally "on display" and in a sexual space, Pompadour's pose and surroundings do not suggest overt sexuality like those of the Clermont portrait.

Interestingly, neither woman was creating her Sultana image as a snare for a man. Clermont had been widowed for nine years when her portrait was commissioned; she had loved

¹⁰⁸ Kathleen Nicholson, "Practicing Portraiture: Mademoiselle de Clermont and J.-M. Nattier," in *Women, Art and the Politics of Identity in Eighteenth-Century Europe*, ed. Melissa Hyde and Jennifer Milam (Surrey, England and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2003), 79.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 79.

¹¹⁰ Suzanne Rodin Pucci, "The Discrete Charms of the Exotic: Fictions of the Harem in Eighteenth-Century France," in *Exoticism in the Enlightenment*, ed. G. S. Rousseau and Roy Porter (Manchester, England: Manchester University Press, 1990), 154-155. Pucci discusses the notions of the harem in eighteenth-century literature, especially plays, and highlights the sexual nature of the pretend harem.

her husband very much and was distraught over his death.¹¹¹ The portrait hung at her ancestral home at Chantilly and was seemingly created for her own use and interest. The date of Pompadour's portrait coincides with the period when sexual relations ceased between her and Louis. Consequently, I believe the images are probably more symptomatic of the eighteenth-century love of masquerade and performance, as discussed in Chapter 2, than of sexuality.¹¹² Both women were avid fans of the theater, and both collected books, furniture, and images of the East.¹¹³ The portraits seem to be more about performing a role than about truly living in a harem.¹¹⁴

Evidence of class distinction is present in the portraits. Clermont was a *princesse de sang*, a granddaughter of Louis XIV and Athenaïs de Montespan. She held a very high position at the court, which contrasts sharply with the bourgeois background of Pompadour. In Clermont's portrait, we see several servants in attendance, each looking up to Clermont, almost in adoration. Their presence allows for a contrast in status with Clermont, who appears larger than her servants, dwarfing them. The whiteness of her skin further sets her apart. She is not a part of their class and pays them no attention; they are servants and are treated as such.¹¹⁵

Pompadour's image, on the other hand, depicts a woman who is at ease with her servant and

¹¹¹ Nicholson, "Practicing Portraiture," 67-71. In fact, Clermont had daringly run away with her lover as a young woman and married him secretly. After he disappeared in a hunting accident five years later, his body was never found. Clermont vowed never to love or marry again, a vow she kept.

¹¹² Wahrman, *The Making of the Modern Self*, 158-161. Wahrman discusses how the eighteenth century was a time of particular fluidity in identity and that the emphasis on masquerade reflected this malleability. Wahrman also argues that when the era of the *ancien régime* came to an end, masquerade fell out of favor.

¹¹³ Jones, *Madame de Pompadour*, 73 and 142. Jones mentions Pompadour's love for *Les Mille et Un Nuits* that had recently been translated into French by Antoine Galland and that she owned a copy of the book. Nicholson also makes the same claim for Mademoiselle de Clermont in "Practicing Portraiture," 81.

¹¹⁴ More about the role of the exotic and the harem will be discussed in Chapter 4.

¹¹⁵ This seems to be a typical trope of harem images – the perfect porcelain skin of the "sultana" contrasted with the dark-skinned servants, as well as the larger than life presence that dominates the servants. We will examine more about the role of the servants and see further examples in Chapter 4.

chooses to gaze at her, not at us. I believe this difference is indicative of consciousness of class status. A princess of the blood would certainly have known her important rank, and Pompadour surely was acutely aware of her less than noble lineage.

3.4 Liminality

The ironies of Pompadour's Sultana portrait and Turkish *boudoir* are a further continuation of her existence in a liminal space as discussed in the previous chapter. Pompadour manipulated concepts of gender in order to gain the most from playing both feminine and masculine roles, yet she never fully belonged in either role. In fact, as Joan Riviere states, "Not long ago intellectual pursuits for women were associated almost exclusively with an overtly masculine type of woman, who in pronounced cases made no secret of her wish or claim to be a man."¹¹⁶ Pompadour may or may not have wished to be a man, but she certainly assimilated to masculine duties while attempting to maintain her femininity. As mistress to the king (a liminal existence in itself) she would be fulfilling a very feminine role, but after the sexual relations ceased, she stepped into a more masculine role as a diplomat, becoming even more important politically than Louis XV's official ministers and councilors.¹¹⁷

Pompadour's bourgeois roots were also a constant source of contention as she attempted to assimilate to aristocratic court culture, a feat that proved impossible to complete fully and contributed to her liminal status. Once she had become a mistress and a noble woman, she could never fully return to her bourgeois beginnings, yet without royal blood in her veins, she could never truly be a part of the aristocracy either.¹¹⁸ Her "otherness" in terms of

¹¹⁶ Joan Riviere, "Womanliness as a Masquerade," in *Gender*, ed. Anna Tripp (New York: Palgrave, 2000), 130.

¹¹⁷ Goodman, *The Portraits of Madame de Pompadour*, 16.

¹¹⁸ Scott, "Framing Ambition," 266-267.

class made the idea of functioning at court similar to navigating in a foreign country. The court of Versailles was often called *ce pays-ci*, or “this country,” alluding to the idea of the court being so distinct from the rest of France as to be its own country, with its own customs and rules that only its citizens could know or understand. Madame de Pompadour, as a bourgeois, was certainly a foreigner in *ce pays-ci*, and was often reminded that she was an outsider.¹¹⁹ Pompadour once again, had to be both an aristocrat and a bourgeoisie at the same time, which meant she could never fully be either one.

The *boudoir turc* at Bellevue, though very feminine and erotic in its style, décor, and in its assumed function, as specifically a *boudoir*, actually served to invert the typical tropes of eighteenth-century femininity and sexual spaces. By affirming her “otherness” as a bourgeoisie amongst aristocrats, a mistress without a lover, a female leader in a patriarchy, a lover of peace and comfort functioning in an exhausting bureaucracy of court life, and all of the other many facets of her life that did not accord with the typical eighteenth-century woman, Pompadour succeeded in subverting notions of femininity and class. As the house at Bellevue became increasingly linked to its patron, so, too, did the most personal space, her *boudoir*.

¹¹⁹ Lever, *Madame de Pompadour*, 59-60.

4 EXOTICISM

4.1 The Ottoman Empire, France and the Exotic

A final aspect of the Turkish *boudoir*, essential for understanding its importance, lies in the realm of exoticism. The mid-eighteenth century was a singular period when France was at a crossroads both inside and outside its borders. Within France, as we saw in the previous chapter, the bourgeoisie acquired stations of power and wealth and the aristocracy soon became dependent upon the middle class.¹²⁰ This shift would eventually alter the course of French history, but another change was occurring outside France's borders that would impact all of Europe. After a long history marred by war, massacre, and contempt, the East (as exemplified by the Ottoman Empire) was opening up to the West. This was a time just before French imperialism when the Ottoman Empire was still a force with which to be reckoned. An immediate result was the new interest in the exotic, particularly Turkey. It is logical, therefore, to end with a section on exoticism as the last chapter in Bellevue's story since this was a period that was to be the last gasp of the old régime and its traditions, as well as the end of an era for the East, whose weakening power would change the course of world history.¹²¹

Eighteenth-century exoticism has been little studied in comparison to its nineteenth-century counterpart. Edward Said's 1978 study, *Orientalism*, presented an ideological framework wherein the relationship between the West and the East since the nineteenth century has

¹²⁰ Louis XIV recognized this new power and affluence and named some of his most prominent advisors from the bourgeoisie (particularly in finance, such as Jean-Baptiste Colbert). This habit was retained by his successors.

¹²¹ Though the Ottoman Empire was never officially colonized, it was often treated in the same manner in Western art and literature as places that were in fact colonies. See Avcioglu, *Turquie and the Politics of Representation*, 10.

been predicated on an imbalance of power that situates the West as the dominant culture.¹²² There is a strong political charge in Orientalism resulting from the long history of colonialism and imperialism in the “Orient.” Though this approach may be useful in analyzing art, literature, and other cultural products of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, it may not be as helpful when examining works from the eighteenth century. I will, therefore, use the term “exoticism” to refer to the Eastern-inspired works in this portion of the thesis. In fact, the exoticism of the Rococo differs fundamentally from the political nature of Orientalism since it became popular during a period before colonization of the East when the Ottoman Empire was still a potential threat.¹²³ One aspect of Said’s theory that will be pertinent to this discussion, however, is the concept of Western interpretations of the East revealing more about the West itself than the East. This inverse of perception is evident in much exotic art of the period that relied on fantasy rather than any documentary evidence (of which there was very little in the early to mid-eighteenth century).¹²⁴

¹²² Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979). According to Edward Said, the term *Orientalism* has had different meanings over time, but I shall be using his definition of Orientalism as a “a corporate institution for dealing with the Orient – dealing with it by making statements about it, authorizing views of it, describing it, by teaching it, settling it, ruling over it; in short, Orientalism is a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient” (3).

¹²³ John M MacKenzie, *Orientalism: History, Theory, and the Arts* (Manchester, England: Manchester University Press, 1995), 50. MacKenzie breaks Orientalist discourse up into historical sections with the eighteenth century representing a precolonial era. Also see Avcioglu, *Turquerie and the Politics of Representation*, 6-8. Here, Avcioglu discusses the dangers in terms like “exoticism” and “Orientalism.” Though she agrees that Orientalism is more pervasive in the nineteenth century, she believes that we should not assume a work of art or literature is not completely without Orientalist ideology simply because it takes place in a different century, and vice-versa. I agree with this idea, and I will show how the imagery at Bellevue shows qualities of both. However, for convenience in this thesis, I will refer to mid-eighteenth-century interest in the East as “exoticism.”

¹²⁴ Avcioglu, *Turquerie and the Politics of Representation*, 18-22. And Stein, “Madame de Pompadour and the Harlem Imagery at Bellevue,” 32-33. Also see Mary D. Sherriff, “The Dislocations of Jean-Etienne Liotard, Called the Turkish Painter,” in *Cultural Contact and the Making of European Art*, ed. Mary D. Sherriff (Durham: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 97-123. This essay tracks the work and influences of Liotard, a French painter who lived and worked in Constantinople. Interestingly, his works are not much different from the artists who never make it to the East; they are still a Europeanized version of the East.

In order to understand the unique qualities of mid-eighteenth-century exoticism and how it impacts the imagery at Bellevue, we must begin with the reign of Louis XIV to see a very different means of representing the East. Images, such as Antoine Coypel's *Louis XIV Receiving the Persian Ambassadors* from 1715 (Figure 9) or Nicholas III de Larmessin's illustration of the *Siamese Embassy* from 1686 (Figure 10), display the prominence of diplomacy between West and East. These official receptions to the court of the Sun King seem to be the only exotic subjects meriting depiction during his reign. Both images, though from different decades of Louis's reign and in different mediums, communicate a similar message through the composition. The French king sits high on his throne while the foreign ambassadors bow their way into his presence, paying obvious homage to Louis. These deferential poses are in stark contrast to the regal bearing of the French monarch, making each scene seem contrived to impress upon the viewer the important role of Louis XIV's agenda to centralize power at home and strengthen France's position abroad.¹²⁵

By the end of the seventeenth century, the balance of power had shifted more favorably toward the West. The turning point was signaled by the military defeat of the Ottomans when they signed the Treaty of Carlowitz in 1699 with Austria, Venice, and Russia. It was further confirmed by the Treaty of Passarowitz in 1718, again with Austria and Venice. Out of necessity, the Ottomans sought European allies as a way to secure their remaining holdings.¹²⁶ These alliances were usually coupled with trading privileges that made them attractive to the French as

¹²⁵ Peter Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 85-107.

¹²⁶ Thomas Naff, "Ottoman Diplomatic Relations with Europe in the Eighteenth Century: Patterns and Trends," in *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Islamic History*, ed. Thomas Naff and Roger Owen (Carbondale: Southern Illinois Press, 1977), 89-91.

well.¹²⁷ This shift in power and the new openness to foreign institutions and knowledge made an alliance between France and the Ottomans mutually beneficial.

Louis XV assumed the throne when the threat of the Ottomans was passing away. The mid-eighteenth century, therefore, marks a transition into a different relationship with and representation of the Turks.¹²⁸ The Turks began to emulate French court culture, while Turkish-inspired fashions and decorative arts were usurped into the French Rococo vocabulary and became quite popular.¹²⁹ Though most artists had never actually been to the East, and despite little access to real Turkish art in France, French artists developed a means of representing Turkish style, which would become known as *la turquerie*.¹³⁰ The exoticism of Turkey in this period is dramatically different from the politics of Louis XIV or the era of colonization which would begin in the later eighteenth century. The East became a fantasy, a place of romantic visions of the harem without all of the overly sexualized, political baggage inherent in the nineteenth-century harems of Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres or Jean-Léon Gérôme.¹³¹ Perhaps this is symptomatic of Louis XV's apparent distaste for governing, or it could be indicative of the new ease France felt in its position as the dominant world power. The Enlightenment also fos-

¹²⁷ Ibid, 92.

¹²⁸ For a comprehensive account of Turkey and France exchanging cultures, see Göçek, *East Encounters West*, especially 24-61.

¹²⁹ Ibid, 32-34.

¹³⁰ Stein, "Madame de Pompadour and the Harem Imagery at Bellevue," 32. Stein discusses the importance of artists like Jean-Baptiste Van Mour and his expedition to Turkey that resulted in the publication of his drawings in the *Recueil de cents estampes représentant différentes nations du Levant, tirées sur les tableaux peints d'après nature en 1707 et 1708 par les ordres de M. de Ferriol ambassadeur du roi à la Porte. Et gravées en 1712 et 1713 par les soins de M. Le Hay*. This group of drawings and engravings offered French (and later German, British, and Italian) artists a rare opportunity to see images of the East made in the East. These drawings heavily influenced many artists in France who were working in the *turquerie* style, including Carle Van Loo and his Pompadour as Sultana portrait that hung at Bellevue.

¹³¹ Reina Lewis, *Gendering Orientalism: Race, Femininity, and Representation* (New York: Routledge, 1996): 127-178. Lewis provides an interesting contrast between the male gaze of artists like Ingres and Gérôme with the female gaze of the artist Henriette Browne, showing how the artist's gender altered the way he or she would represent the harem. For more information on Gérôme, see Lynn Thornton, *The Orientalists: Painter-Travellers* (Paris: Art, Création, Réalisation, 1994): 98-103.

tered more acceptance of the East and an interest in other cultures that was particular to the mid-eighteenth century:

It was a moment when, because of the power of Enlightenment pens, Europe itself was sufficiently self-critical and free from bigotry to confront other cultures, admittedly not as equals, nor even necessarily on their own terms, but at least as alternative versions of living – for a brief moment before the logic of the white man’s mission required that they be subordinated, eviscerated, and destroyed.¹³²

Essentially, this was the time just before colonization of the East, so it follows that exotic imagery of the eighteenth century should not have the same political charge as nineteenth-century Orientalism.¹³³ *La turquerie*, however, did provide an avenue for the subversion of certain societal norms, particularly by women who masqueraded as “the other.”

4.2 Becoming “The Other”

Harem imagery tends to be one of the most pervasive exotic themes, particularly in the mid-eighteenth century. Notions of the harem as both a place of captivity and as a place of liberation were prevalent in the eighteenth century, but what makes them different from their nineteenth-century counterparts is that they were created by and for women. Women used not only harem images, but also any self-representation in Eastern garb as a method of cultivating both a public and private persona of their own making.¹³⁴ The women who chose specifically harem themes were often among the highest echelons of society, but were also somehow

¹³² Rousseau and Porter, *Exoticism in the Enlightenment*, 14.

¹³³ MacKenzie, *Orientalism: History, Theory, and the Arts*, 50. .

¹³⁴ See Stein, “Amedee Van Loo’s *Costume turc*,” 418-421 for more about Madame du Barry’s patronage of harem tapestries. For another harem example, see Stein, “Madame de Pompadour and the Harem Imagery at Bellevue,” 29-45. For more information about women donning Eastern fashions for portraiture, see Pointon, “Going Turkish,” 140-157.

outside the boundaries of acceptance.¹³⁵ Interestingly, these women who were “others” in reality also identified with “others” in the images they chose for self-representation; essentially they became “others” as “others.” Women of the period seem to use exoticism in ways that turn stereotypes of the harem on themselves, resulting in representations of women who control their space and image.¹³⁶

That Madame de Pompadour and other women of the time chose Turkish-inspired imagery comes from a fascination with the Ottoman Empire, resulting from the proliferation of travel writing, as well as the publishing of Antoine Galland’s French translation of *Les mille et une nuits* in 1704.¹³⁷ This collection of tales became one of the century’s bestsellers, as well as an outlet for fantasies of the noblesse, and Madame de Pompadour is known to have had a copy in her personal library.¹³⁸ The use of foreign dress and an imagined space accorded a portrait’s subject a degree of liberty and even could be seen as a way to subvert traditional gender roles and class distinctions.¹³⁹ I believe this is true in the creation of the Turkish *boudoir* at Bellevue, especially in the portrait of Pompadour as a Sultana in a harem.

¹³⁵ Avcioglu, *Turquerie and the Politics of Representation*, 15. The author suggests that “alienated” people often negotiated their otherness through the Ottoman Empire because it offered “an equally sophisticated culture of power as well as a clear demarcation of symbolic systems too close to home.”

¹³⁶ *Ibid*, 15-16. Avcioglu mentions that women often chose this means of self-representation (though some men did, as well) because as a “weaker” person absorbs the power symbols of an alternate system, the result is empowerment from within.

¹³⁷ Jones, *Madame de Pompadour*, 73. Also see Antoine Galland, *Les mille et une nuits: contes arabes* (Paris: Flammarion, 2004) for a recent edition with commentary.

¹³⁸ Jones, *Madame de Pompadour*, 142. Though possession of a book may not necessarily entail having actually read it, we know Pompadour was interested in the East through her imagery at Bellevue, as well as through her theatrical performances and role-playing. Therefore, it is not unreasonable to assume that she had, at the very least, opened the book and was exposed in some way to its content.

¹³⁹ Jessica Munns and Penny Richards, *The Clothes That Wear Us: Dressing and Transgressing in Eighteenth-Century Culture* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1999), 18-19. And Avcioglu, *Turquerie and the Politics of Representation*, 15-16.

As we have seen in the previous two chapters, masquerade, pretending, and “dressing up” were common for upper-class eighteenth-century women. Pompadour certainly participated in these activities both physically (in her dairies and theatrical performances), as well as through her portraits. The harem portrait and its accompanying overdoor painting of women embroidering can tell us much about the role of exoticism in the mid-eighteenth century, particularly as a vehicle for women’s self-expression.

The paintings have been analyzed in detail by Perrin Stein, who relates them to Madame de Pompadour’s ability to fashion her self-image through portraiture. Stein argues that the paintings show Pompadour as the head of Louis XV’s harem (by then in full swing at the *Parc aux Cerfs*) despite the sexual nature of their relationship being over. As sultana, she is demonstrating her power as the first, and most favored, mistress.¹⁴⁰ I am not necessarily seeking to prove or disprove Stein’s theory, but rather to analyze the paintings from a different angle in terms of what costume and imagined space say not only about the sitter, but also about eighteenth-century women’s taste for the exotic. One way to do this is to compare and contrast the harem portrait of Pompadour to those of other women in foreign dress. An earlier example is a portrait of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu from 1725 (Figure 11).

The portrait shows Montagu, the wife of a British ambassador who served at the Ottoman court in Constantinople, in a full frontal pose wearing an opulent Europeanized version of a Turkish court dress; her black servant boy stands behind her – a metal collar around his neck, and Constantinople is silhouetted in the background.¹⁴¹ Interestingly, though Montagu had ac-

¹⁴⁰ Stein, “Madame de Pompadour,” 39. I would even say that she goes so far as to show herself as “queen” (as a true “sultana” would be) but is doing it in a safe, non-treasonous way.

¹⁴¹ Pointon, “Going Turkish,” 145.

tually been to Turkey, there are still strong European influences that we see in her costume and the landscape, as well as in the overall painting technique and style. Pompadour, who had never left Europe is actually presented in a somewhat more convincing manner with a backdrop that echoes the prints by Jean-Baptiste Van Mour in the *Recueil de cents etamps*.¹⁴² Van Mour completed this set of drawings while on a diplomatic mission in Turkey, and the images served as a primary source for Eastern imagery for many European artists. There seems to be at least some attempt on the part of Carle Van Loo, therefore, to depict accurately a Turkish interior for Pompadour's portrait, albeit with romanticized Rococo details.

Marcia Pointon draws much attention to Montagu's perfect porcelain skin, which at the time the portrait was painted was anything but flawless. Montagu's face had been severely scarred by smallpox, and at thirty-six years old, she was well beyond her prime for that era, and her face showed it. The portrait served to remind Montagu's contemporaries of the attributes that had made her so famous – her beauty and her intelligence. This is analogous to the Pompadour harem portrait because both women chose to represent themselves as they had been – not as they were. This element of fantasy and creative license lends itself well to the concept of “dressing up” for a portrait.¹⁴³ The choice of an eastern backdrop for both portraits helped to make the fantasy more acceptable: an unreal image placed in an imagined space helped create a beautiful illusion, under which was content that stressed the power of women in a male-dominated world.¹⁴⁴ This is synonymous with the overall goal of Pompadour's *femme savante*

¹⁴² Stein, “Madame de Pompadour,” 32. See also, note 130.

¹⁴³ Munns and Richards, *The Clothes That Wear Us*, 18.

¹⁴⁴ Jones, *Madame de Pompadour*, 78. Also consider the discussion of Montagu's Chinese Room in Chapter 3 of this thesis. The Chinese Room served as a way for Montagu to assume a more feminine role in a masculine space, which indicates a need and desire to subvert traditional norms of gender. Pompadour's Turkish boudoir served a similar function.

portraits (see Figure 2) – once again, the Marquise is ideally depicted as much younger and probably prettier than she actually was, and the fictional space in which she is placed with all of its symbols of the *philosophes* contributes to the viewer equating Madame de Pompadour with the Enlightenment.¹⁴⁵

Montagu and Pompadour were able to present idealized versions of themselves through exotic dress, but they chose to do this in two different locales. Montagu, a respectable married woman, is located in a landscape, which is supposed to recall Turkey in the silhouetted skyline, but remove that distant scene, and this could be any Joshua Reynolds portrait of an upper-class woman surrounded by a lush landscape. Pompadour, on the other hand, is placed in an actual harem. She inhabits the space of “the other.” This is different from most portraits of noble women in Turkish dress, including the one of Mademoiselle de Clermont discussed in Chapter 3 (see Figure 8). Though assumed to be a “sultana,” it is only through Clermont’s servants and costume that we see a connection to the East; the interior space is utterly French. Because Pompadour is placed in the Orient, her portrait is unique and communicates a different message. The “Turkish” setting allows Pompadour to assume the queen-like position of “sultana” and to appropriate its power. In this exotic, dislocated space, Pompadour is able to achieve what she cannot fully accomplish in reality.

¹⁴⁵ See Posner, “Mme. De Pompadour as a Patron of the Visual Arts,” 74-105 for a revisionist look at Madame de Pompadour’s art patronage that reveals a woman whose taste and artistic choices may not have been as intellectually astute as is commonly believed. However, her ability to create an image of herself as a worldly, knowledgeable woman has endured to this day, reinforcing my argument that representations in Pompadour’s idealized portraits affect the viewer’s perception of Pompadour herself. In addition, the creation of an ideal Madame de Pompadour did not only affect her physical beauty; her reputation was also idealized in a fictitious space. For example, see Drouais’ *Madame de Pompadour as a Vestal*, which idealized her piety and faithfulness to the king, or Van Loo’s *Madame de Pompadour: La Belle Jardinière*, which seems to idealize her beauty and love for the outdoors (one of the king’s passions) – see Jones, *Madame de Pompadour*, 69 and 78.

This liminal space is actually something the Montagu and Pompadour portraits have in common. Lady Montagu, as a European woman in a distant Turkish court, could not have been fully accepted into Turkish ways (as indicated by the many letters of her Turkish experiences that she left behind), but she could see the shortcomings of her own culture in a more magnified way than someone who had not been abroad. For example, Western misconceptions of the harem as a prison amused Montagu since she believed that women in Turkey had far more rights and privileges than women in England.¹⁴⁶ Alain Grosrichard, whose account of eighteenth-century Orientalism was published one year after Edward Said's, confirms this view and states that "power is in the hands of Turkish women of the seraglio."¹⁴⁷ This not only puts Montagu "between worlds" as far as nationality and culture, but also in terms of gender as she is divided between masculine and feminine forms of identity.¹⁴⁸ The portrait of Montagu, which hides her true face behind an idealized mask of youth, is further evidence of Montagu being pulled between two worlds, both the seen and the unseen: the true face cannot be seen, so the imagined face is put in the public view.

One can compare these facets of Montagu's portrait to Madame de Pompadour's. Liminality was a large part of Madame de Pompadour's life experience, particularly at the time of the harem paintings. As discussed in Chapter 3, Pompadour's bourgeois roots were a constant source of contention as she attempted to assimilate to aristocratic court culture. Once she had become a mistress and a noble woman, she could never fully be a part of her bourgeois beginnings, yet without royal blood in her veins, she was denied true access to the aristocracy as

¹⁴⁶ Pointon, "Going Turkish," 151.

¹⁴⁷ Alain Grosrichard, *The Sultan's Court: European Fantasies of the East*, trans. Liz Heron (London: Verso, 1979): 166.

¹⁴⁸ Pointon, "Going Turkish," 149-151.

well.¹⁴⁹ Like Montagu, her portraits veiled her true face behind an illusion that the viewer would be expected to accept as reality – the youthful *femme savante*, or beautiful gardener, or chaste virgin, or harem sultana – all were guises behind which the real Pompadour lay hidden. The canvas and the exotic locale simply acted as mediums to link the two worlds.¹⁵⁰

Liminality also defined both women's status as "the other." Montagu, as a foreign woman in Turkey, was "the other" in that court. Likewise, the court of Versailles was often called *ce pays-ci*, or "this country," alluding to the idea of the court being so distinct from the rest of France as to be its own country, with its own customs and rules that only its citizens could know or understand. Madame de Pompadour, as a bourgeois, was certainly a foreigner in *ce pays-ci*, and was often reminded that she was an outsider.¹⁵¹ It seems understandable that both women would choose to represent themselves in a Turkish fantasy. Ottoman culture was so different and so distant that one could accept fantasies of it as reality and could reinvent oneself without any real repercussions. The fantasy of *Les Mille et Une Nuits* entails that "the normal rules of time, character, and psychology are, of course, suspended in the geographical and mental heartlands of the exotic."¹⁵² Madame de Pompadour, as "other" and "outsider", could never really be a full contributor to the Enlightenment (particularly because of her gender), or a full member of any societal class, or even a full participant at court (since everything hinged on

¹⁴⁹ Scott, "Framing Ambition," 266-267.

¹⁵⁰ The idea of Madame de Pompadour herself being a link between two worlds – that of the king to that of his subjects (or common people) – is highlighted by Scott in *Ibid*, 268. Here she discusses different contemporary terms used to describe Mme. De Pompadour, such as "conduit" or "canal." This only increases her liminal status and reinforces her inability to belong fully to one world or the other.

¹⁵¹ Lever, *Madame de Pompadour*, 59-60.

¹⁵² Rousseau and Porter, *Exoticism and the Enlightenment*, 25.

her relationship with the king), but connecting herself with a fantasy world allowed her to transgress societal gender norms in a subtle way.¹⁵³

4.3 Interaction with “The Other”

Pompadour’s portrait, though it shares some common ground with other exotic-inspired portraits of eighteenth-century women, also has many differences. We have already observed distinctive qualities of Pompadour’s portrait through her location in an actual harem of the East, as well as through the persona she assumes of a “sultana.” However, a further difference that helps to link so many facets of the Marquise’s complex personality lies in the depiction of the true “other” in her portrait, the servant.

Pompadour’s servant is not represented in a derogatory or stereotypical way.¹⁵⁴ She has a pretty face and wears a costume similar to the other women of the harem. She and the sultana share a gaze, which I have not found to be true in any other exotic or Orientalist representations of a black servant and master. If one contrasts this image with the Montagu portrait, the black servant boy is dwarfed by Montagu’s large, illuminated presence. He is left in her shadow, looking up to her, and situated behind her – essentially subordinated to her. The collar around his neck reminds us of his status not only as servant, but also as slave.¹⁵⁵

Another example is a portrait of Madame du Barry (Pompadour’s successor as *maîtresse-en-titre* to Louis XV about ten years after her death) with her servant, Zamor (Figure

¹⁵³ For more about women as gendered outsiders in the eighteenth century (focusing on women writers), see Heidi Bostic, *The Fiction of Enlightenment: Women of Reason in the French Eighteenth Century* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2010): 59.

¹⁵⁴ Later images of African women would show influences of social Darwinism and would even depict black women as troglodytes, such as A. Segaud’s frontispiece for *The Physical Evolution of Woman* for Edmond Perrier and Le Dr Verneau, *La Femme dans la nature, dans les moeurs, dans la légende, et dans la société* (Paris, 1908).

¹⁵⁵ Pointon, “Going Turkish,” 146.

12). Stein draws a comparison between this and Pompadour's harem portrait, stating that du Barry must have relied on Pompadour for inspiration because of the similar iconography and composition.¹⁵⁶ However, the only real similarities between the two paintings are that they both contain a mistress being served coffee by her black servant; otherwise, they are quite different. Like the servant in the Montagu portrait, Zamor is dwarfed (in an almost awkward cartoonlike way) by his much larger mistress who is bathed in light like Montagu. Du Barry does not share a gaze with the servant, but looks out of the canvas at the viewer with a haughty stare. Her state of dishabille and opulent French surroundings suggest a portrait more about status than intimacy.

The portrait of Mademoiselle de Clermont is similar to the Montagu and Du Barry images. Clermont also focuses her gaze on the viewer and seems oblivious to the attentions of her multitude of servants. Indeed, the number of servants is one of the few distinguishing features of the portrait. Yet her servants follow the same tropes as Montagu's and Du Barry's: they only see their mistress, whom they obviously idolize and seem content to serve.

Pompadour's portrait seems to open up a different kind of space. Though certainly linked to a higher status through her representation as "sultana," as well as through actually being able to possess a servant, Pompadour does not seek to "dominate" the servant in the same way as Montagu's chained slave or Clermont's adoring workers. In Madame de Pompadour's harem portrait, a liminal space is opened to invite a black servant and her white/Turkish mistress to share a moment that is not inhibited by decorum or social rules. As discussed in chapter 3, the comfort and ease that Pompadour appears to experience in the portrait seem to

¹⁵⁶ Stein, "Amedée VanLoo's *Costume Turc*," 420.

hearken back to her bourgeois roots. The gaze that they share, a compositional motif for which I have not been able to find an equivalent, disrupts the hierarchy that is so inherent in the Montagu, Du Barry, and Clermont images.

This could be indicative of the shift in policy and power that occurred in the mid-eighteenth century. As I have already discussed, the social climate of the mid-eighteenth century was different from the earlier and later decades. The Montagu portrait is from 1725 and the Clermont image is from 1733. Each is at least twenty years older than Pompadour's and reflects a different attitude toward the East, which was one of creating a power difference wherein the West dominates. This same attitude would return in the later decades of the century, as seen in the Du Barry portrait from 1771. The later part of the century would utilize exotic motifs as a means to extend power through colonialism. The mid-eighteenth century, however, exemplifies a period of time somewhat free of these yokes when the East was simply seen as an alternative.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁷ Rousseau and Porter, *Exoticism in the Enlightenment*, 12-13. Here the authors state that educated men often used the exotic as a way to "detach themselves from the traditional ties of allegiance to the established socio-political order and values of their own society." I believe that Pompadour was doing something very similar in her portrait, as well as in the *boudoir* as a whole by incorporating an overall exotic style. Rousseau and Porter go on to discuss the appropriation of the classical world at the end of the eighteenth century as a way to spread an ideology of dominance and the inferiority of anything not descending from the "classical" past, i.e. the exotic East.

4.4 The World Turned Upside Down

An entire century took pleasure in making itself seen through what it burned to go and see; in revealing to itself the truth about its princes, its obeisances, its way of making love through the artifice of a gaze, which it tells itself, is foreign. This gaze, which to me is other, knows more about me than I do myself.¹⁵⁸

This quote, by Alain Grosrichard, sums up much of the argument of this chapter. The eighteenth century was a time when the West saw itself in the East, and through transposing itself onto the East, the West learned more about itself. This is the crux of Orientalist thought as defined by Said, and in this way, eighteenth-century exoticism does display traits of true Orientalism. The quote also sums up the way that eighteenth-century patrons used Eastern motifs and settings to say something about themselves, whether consciously or unconsciously. Madame de Pompadour chose to represent herself as a Turkish sultana in order to claim her place in Louis XV's household and life, yet the portrait and its location tell us so much more.

Through the concept of liminality, one can see the relationship between exotic dress and imagined spaces, and how the two worked together to help the portrait's subject convey an even deeper message about her place in the world. Liminality also helps to explain the paradoxes of the portrait and the *boudoir*. It seems ironic that a mistress would choose a harem (not only one of the most over-sexualized places in western fantasies, but also one of the most gender repressive, according to eighteenth- and nineteenth-century perceptions) as a vehicle through which to express herself as a powerful, in control individual. That a harem portrait hangs in a *boudoir* of a mistress who is no longer visited by her lover, and that it speaks nothing about sex, seduction, or the sultan (who is conspicuously absent), also seems antithetical.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid, 24-25.

Only in the in-between world of the mid-eighteenth century could one find all of the contradictions about gender, status, and class make logical sense in a harem *boudoir* portrait. The portrait and the *boudoir* serve to remind us of the women of the eighteenth century whose artistic, literary, and social contributions helped to subvert the power hierarchy in subtle, not so obvious ways. In an interesting parallel, Grosrichard comes to a similar conclusion about the eighteenth-century Turkish harem, which he calls “the world turned upside down,” claiming that “everything in the seraglio takes place as the opposite of what its order and discipline would have us believe.”¹⁵⁹ How fitting that Madame de Pompadour should have chosen such a place to represent her own paradoxical world.

¹⁵⁹ Grosrichard, *The Sultan's Court*, 166.

5 CONCLUSIONS

By 1757, the Marquise de Pompadour began yet another phase of her life. The love affair between her and the king was a distant memory by that year, and Pompadour was growing older. Ironically, her last years at Versailles were not spent as much in the king's service as in the queen's. After a public apology for her indiscretions, Pompadour was rewarded with the queen's forgiveness and an appointment to her household as a lady-in-waiting, a position Pompadour would hold until her death in 1764.¹⁶⁰ Because the Marquise knew her position at court was connected to the will of the king, she began to prepare for the possibility of outliving Louis. So, it was in 1757 that Pompadour decided to sell several of her properties, including Bellevue, in order to amass enough wealth for her later years should the king die first.¹⁶¹

Louis XV purchased Bellevue from the Marquise in 1757 and made it his own estate, which he was preparing to give as a gift to his three daughters, Victoire, Adélaïde, and Sophie, collectively known as the *Mesdames*. Upon his death, Louis XV officially bequeathed Bellevue to the *Mesdames*, who made substantial changes to the "small" home by enlarging the building itself, as well as the gardens.¹⁶² After the French Revolution, the château passed into the hands of various nobles, and finally it was demolished in 1826. When Pompadour vacated Bellevue in 1757, the contents were moved to her home at the Hôtel d'Evreux in Paris. When she died in 1764, her brother, the Marquis de Marigny, oversaw the sale of her possessions. The Sultana portrait and its accompanying overdoor painting of the women embroidering were part of this

¹⁶⁰ Pompadour did, however, continue to have great diplomatic and political influence in France and was still considered Louis XV's main intermediary. Yet once she became a *dame du palais* to the queen, she vowed to reform her life and live in a more Christian fashion, which appealed greatly to the devotedly Catholic queen. See Algrant, *Madame de Pompadour*, 187-191.

¹⁶¹ Alden R. Gordon, *The Houses and Collections of the Marquis de Marigny* (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2003).

¹⁶² Biver, *Histoire du château de Bellevue*, 265-268.

auction and both sold for 1900 livres to a private buyer.¹⁶³ Later that same year, Catherine II of Russia purchased the paintings for her own bedroom at the Hermitage, and they are still in the Hermitage Museum today.¹⁶⁴

Though Bellevue continued to exist as a home to many after her, it is with Pompadour that the château is foremost associated. And it is certainly for the *boudoir turc* that the home is most remembered. This unique space tied together so many conflicting and contradictory aspects of its patron, as well as the era of its birth, the mid-eighteenth century. The goal of this thesis was to intertwine the lives of Pompadour and Bellevue and link them to their time in order to provide greater understanding about the complex nature of this period, especially in terms of public versus private life, gender, class, and the role of exoticism.

The Turkish *boudoir* is most interesting because it represents a physical space of “otherness.” As we have seen, the blend of exoticism and transgression of gender and class in portraiture was not uncommon in the mid-eighteenth century, which was a time of fluidity of identity. Pompadour’s *boudoir* and Sultana portrait, however, combine these notions in an unexpected way by integrating the subject into an actual Eastern harem. I have also emphasized the importance of masquerade and role-playing (particularly as dairy maids) for wealthy women of the period. Yet Pompadour’s *boudoir* represents a real, lived space that allowed its mistress to envelop herself in a fantasy world where she would fall asleep each night. The sexless harem of her *boudoir* became the ultimate paradox for this most unusual mistress whose staying power was just as astonishing to her contemporaries as it is today. Within this liminal space, time

¹⁶³ Jean Cordey, *Inventaire des biens de Madame de Pompadour rédigé après son décès* (Paris, 1939): 91.

¹⁶⁴ Marie-Catherine Sahut and Pierre Rosenberg, *Carle Van Loo: Premier peintre du roi* (Nice: Musée Chéret 1977): 76.

and logic seemed to stand still. It was a place that lay between worlds: the real and the imagined, the public and the private, the masculine and the feminine, the aristocratic and the plebeian, the East and the West. Thus the *boudoir* both mirrors the life of the Marquise and reflects the societal and political changes happening in the mid-eighteenth century.

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APPENDIX



Figure 1: Jean-Marc Nattier, *Portrait of Madame de Pompadour as Diana*, 1755
Source: Jones, Colin. *Madame de Pompadour: Images of a Mistress*. London: National Gallery Company, 2002.



Figure 2: Maurice-Quentin de La Tour, *Portrait of Madame de Pompadour*, 1755
Source: Goodman, Elise. *The Portraits of Madame de Pompadour: Celebrating the Femme Savante*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2000.



Figure 3: Carle Van Loo, *Portrait of Madame de Pompadour as La Belle Jardinère*, ca.1760.
 Source: Goodman, Elise. *The Portraits of Madame de Pompadour: Celebrating the Femme Savante*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2000.

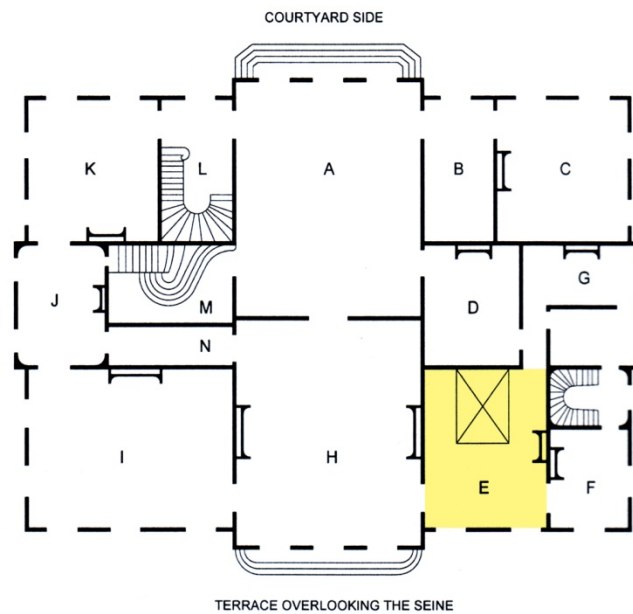


Figure 4: Plan of Bellevue, 1748.
 Source: Scott, Katie. "Framing Ambition: The Interior Politics of Mme. De Pompadour." *Art History* 28, no. 2 (2005): 248-290.



Figure 5: Carle Van Loo, *Madame de Pompadour as a Sultana*, about 1752
 Source: Jones, Colin. *Madame de Pompadour: Images of a Mistress*. London: National Gallery Company, 2002.



Figure 6: Carle Van Loo, *A Sultana at her Tapestry Frame with a Companion*, about 1752
 Source: Jones, Colin. *Madame de Pompadour: Images of a Mistress*. London: National Gallery Company, 2002.



Figure 7: Pierre Antoine Baudouin, *The Exhausted Quiver*, about 1775
 Source: Casid, Joan. "Commerce in the Boudoir." In *Women, Art and the Politics of Identity in Eighteenth Century Europe*, edited by Melissa Hyde and Jennifer Milam, 91-114. Surrey, England and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2003.



Figure 8: Jean-Marc Nattier, *Mademoiselle de Clermont as a Sultana*, 1733
 Source: Nicholson, Kathleen. "Practicing Portraiture: Mademoiselle de Clermont and J.-M. Nattier." In *Women, Art and the Politics of Identity in Eighteenth-Century Europe*, edited by Melissa Hyde and Jennifer Milam, 64-90. Surrey, England and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2003.



Figure 9: Antoine Coypel, *Louis XIV Receiving the Persian Ambassadors*, 1715
 Source: Göçek, Fatma Müge. *East Encounters West: France and the Ottoman Empire in the Eighteenth Century*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987.



Figure 10: Nicholas III de Larmessin, *The Siamese Embassy*, 1686
 Source: Göçek, Fatma Müge. *East Encounters West: France and the Ottoman Empire in the Eighteenth Century*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987.



Figure 11: Jonathan Richardson, *Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*, c. 1725
 Source: Pointon, Marcia. *Hanging the Head: Portraiture and Social Formation in Eighteenth Century England*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993.



Figure 12: Jean-Baptiste-André Gautier-Dagoty, *Madame du Barry et Zamor lui apportant une tasse de café*, about 1771.
 Source: Stein, Perrin. "'Amedee Van Loo's *Costume turc*.'" *Art Bulletin* LXXVIII, no. 3 (1996).